

THE OLD RECTORY  
ENGLEFIELD



20<sup>th</sup> October 2018

Dear Judge Jackson,

I am Sam's Godfather. He worked for me as an assistant in the House of Commons when I was a Member of Parliament. For many years when I was on the Board of Overseers at Harvard University and Executive Editor of The Economist, I would also see him. So our's was a friendship that developed in his adulthood, despite the separation of an ocean, of our ages and, perhaps, of our politics.

I admire this capacity for friendship that

he has. He has never asked for favours or been disingenuous towards me. He is fun and straightforward and undogmatic. Even though I am now in my 70's, Sam makes the effort to see me when he comes through London.

I have known him to be a dolt on occasion (never more than the one that occasions this letter.) But after some 40 meals together over 25 years, he has never been anything but kind <sup>and</sup> compassionate, without - for all his adventurous life - being callow or cavalier.

Sam is an international guy, at ease in the Congo or Russia, London or Kiev. That is rare these days when most Americans of his age and background are safely ensconced behind domestic bond-trading desks.

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He deserves credit for that. How many Americans these days (unlike the past) are prepared to go out to central Africa to engage in the bustle and dangers of uncertain democracies? How many are capable of the modesty of manners, the susceptibility to foreign mores to make this leap? Educated and open-hearted, he is an appealing American abroad. A dolt not to have registered but not a criminal in intent nor a man requiring further punishment.

Do a Goofball's duties include prison

visiting? That is a question I  
hope not to need to answer, not for my  
sake but for his.

With my thanks to you for reading  
his letter and my handwriting.  
And all respects.

  
DUDLEY FISHBURN

**Aizhan Kulakhmetova Patten**  
[REDACTED]

October 24, 2018

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United State Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20001

Your Honor,

I am writing this to respectfully request your Honor's leniency on behalf of my ex-husband Sam Patten. My name is Aizhan Kulakhmetova Patten, I have been a member of the Virginia State Bar (79701) in good standing since 2010. I no longer practice law, but maintain an associate status and instead own and run a Pilates studio in Alexandria, VA. Sam and I were married for seven years (1999-2006). After the divorce, we remained on good terms and together raised a son, Max, who is now a freshman at [REDACTED]

I have two reasons for writing this letter. One, I feel I owe it to Sam because he is one of the most decent, selfless and humble human beings I have ever encountered. Secondly I believe that as an ex-spouse and someone who has known Sam for over two decades, I can help in painting an accurate and objective picture of him.

I first met Sam in Kazakhstan in 1996. He came there soon after graduating college. I wondered when I met him why would a young man who could have a stable and safe life in America would chose to go half-way across the world to a country that a few could even point to on a map. Adventure perhaps? There was a bit of that, but I believe it was Sam's sense of duty to work hard and to make a difference in places where a change could be made.

Kazakhstan, Russia, Georgia, Iraq - these were all places where Sam chose to work not because he sought adventure but because he believed he could make a difference. The desire to make a change may have started in youthful romanticism but living and seeing these places change before his own eyes, it was impossible not to believe in the possibility of positive change. Life in these countries is far from ideal but comparing to what it used to be, things certainly have improved. Changes come from within, but they also are ushered in by outsiders like Sam.

Most of the overseas assignments Sam took were far from lucrative. Many of his work trips were also quite dangerous. Now, as an independent observer and not his wife, I find Sam's readiness to sacrifice his personal comfort and safety for a far-flung work cause admirable. Candidates he supported were often blacklisted by the local despots. Boris Nemtsov, one of the

last remaining liberal Russian politicians with whom Sam worked closely, was murdered, most likely on Putin's orders, in 2015. Sam was shaken and heart-broken when he learned about his assassination.

Another of Sam's commendable traits is his humility and his consistency in treating everyone, regardless of their station in life, with an equal amount of respect and attention. It's what really sat him apart from his fellow American expatriates in Kazakhstan and in Russia. When so many of them treated locals as second-class citizens, Sam treated everyone equally well. Back home in the States, Sam behaved no differently. From his posh Georgetown classmates to Maine friends who had to join the Navy or the Army to escape their small towns, Sam was interested in and solicitous of all of them equally.

I also believe Sam is a true patriot. I noticed his love and affection for his country and for his home state of Maine early on in our relationship. As a long-term expatriate, Sam was eligible for certain state and local tax exemptions. When his tax preparer offered him the opportunity to file as a non-resident and pay less in tax, Sam declined the savings. He didn't want to give up his Maine resident status because for him it meant he couldn't continue calling it home and he loved Maine too much for that. That episode really struck me. He wasn't a loud, in-your-face proud American but proved his patriotism in quiet but more meaningful ways, like coaching a Little League team in Kazakhstan. Many of the local kids never played baseball, and while they were far from being pros by the end of the season, they learned a few things about America and about Maine; they likely still remember a kind and gentle American young man. I'm convinced that those kids who are now young adults will less likely be swayed by now rampant anti-American propaganda.

Fast-forward to today's proceedings, I know that Sam is utterly devastated morally, financially and professionally. He is profoundly ashamed and, I believe, has already paid dearly for his mistake. In fact, it wouldn't be an exaggeration to say that he lost practically everything he worked his entire adult life. His business has been ruined, he has been socially ostracized, labeled a felon for the rest of his life, is now unemployed with dim prospects of regaining employment in the near future. Despite that, I think what's eating at him the most right now is the pain and disappointment he thinks he caused to those around him. This kind of selfless concern about others is classic Sam. Aside from his wife Laura, who is wonderful and supportive, I don't think anyone knows the depths of misery he must be going through. He is bravely absorbing the responsibility for his mistake, and I think, he will always be haunted by it. It seems that inflicting more punishment on him would serve little purpose other than completely destroying the man.

Finally, I want to mention Max, Sam's son. Max is very close to his dad and is extremely concerned for him. This is an excerpt of what Max wrote on his Facebook page on the day when the news of Sam's plea agreement were made public:

*...My dad is a person who believes in this country and its values. He's worked for NGOs and politicians that are similarly freedom-oriented. He made a mistake and admitted to it. There are far less scrupulous people involved in this...*

*I'll follow my dad's example of dignity and civility in the face of something messy and ugly. We should all strive to do the same.*

I believe that if anyone earned a second chance through his prior personal and public conduct, it is Sam. I humbly restate my plea for your Honor's leniency in this case. If there is any other information I can provide, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Aizhan K. Patten', written in a cursive style.

Aizhan K. Patten

Laura Patten



The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge for the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue NW Washington DC 20001

March 12, 2019

Dear Judge Jackson,

My name is Laura Patten and I write in support of William Samuel Patten, Jr., who awaits sentencing in your court for his failure to register under the Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA). I write as a wife, an American, and a United States national security expert.

I have devoted the bulk of my adult life to promoting U.S. interests and protecting our nation from foreign adversaries, first as a Central Intelligence Agency covert operations officer overseas, and later as an overt Counterintelligence Division Director at the Department of Energy here in Washington. In my last government position, I served as a Senior Counterintelligence Officer detailed to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Criminal Investigation Division, Transnational Organized Crime (East), which covers Ukraine and broad swaths of the former Soviet empire. In 2017, I joined a private firm where I still work. I hold a Master's in International Affairs from Columbia University, and am pursuing a Ph.D.

Sam admits to, and takes full responsibility for, the conduct that resulted in the government's decision to charge him. He has channeled his shame and anguish into getting healthy, volunteering, and 'digging deep' to figure out what led him astray. I am confident that going forward Sam will comport himself in the honorable manner that is consistent with his previously unblemished legal record and stellar reputation. Sam's honesty about failing to register, and his unwavering willingness to cooperate with the government, speaks to his good character and respect for the rule-of-law.

I cried while watching Sam record a public service video in which he admits his violation and encourages others to comply with FARA. While I felt proud of Sam's candor and proactive effort to make amends, I also felt deep anguish. Sam has never, and would never, hurt the United States. To the contrary, Sam is patriot who has served our nation with distinction. Even now, while battered and bruised, fundamentally Sam remains the same person I married: A committed agent of pluralistic American democracy.



Described as a ‘lobbyist’ in the media, most of Sam’s professional activities have involved providing strategic campaign and communications advice to political candidates, business leaders, and human rights advocates. He is a vocal opponent to Vladimir Putin and other authoritarians. Over the years, Sam developed an expertise supporting clients struggling against corrupt regimes in challenging foreign environments. Sam so passionately believes in giving voice to the voiceless, that I lost track of how many times he accepted pro-bono clients.

As a spouse, Sam is kind and forthright. He has steadfastly supported me through losing our baby in utero, three failed adoptions, [REDACTED] Despite our family-building challenges, Sam and I had held out hope of adopting a child together. However, his felony conviction precludes this possibility and robs me of the remaining hope of motherhood. That alone is a devastating life sentence that no amount of ‘rehabilitation’ can overcome.

The impact on our immediate and extended family has been gut-wrenching. Since pleading guilty, Sam has received death threats, been slurred inaccurately as a liar, and lost his economic livelihood. We have both been taunted on social media, and wrongly assumed to be aligned with a cast of characters who threaten our democratic processes, institutions, and values.

The legal process has destroyed our financial security and bankrupted Sam, causing him to cash-in his retirement savings, which were earned over decades, including in war-zones. It will take years, and likely decades, for our family to recover the financial loss and opportunity costs. Soon after accompanying Sam to your courtroom, for example, a moderator disinvited me from speaking about financial crime to an industry gathering because “the FBI is uncomfortable with you speaking about this topic given who your husband is.” The government then supplied a Special Agent from the Chicago Field Office to replace me at the CPE event. Also, after Sam’s plea, we were subjected to two IRS audits, the first of our lives, and an investigative tactic frequently used by federal law enforcement – which resulted in the finding of no criminality.

Before he was charged, I witnessed Sam share with Administration officials, Congressional Members and staff, academics, journalists, and military officers, his insights and observations from working overseas. Sam was forthcoming about his work with anyone who asked. Respected thought-leaders frequented our home and solicited Sam’s analysis of complex events related to the former Soviet Union, including his work in Ukraine – a small aspect of which he failed to register and caused him to be charged. In that vein, as far back as 2014, I wrote and spoke to my FBI supervisors, as well as to Special Agents assigned to Washington Field Office counterintelligence squads, about Sam’s ability and willingness to help them access and analyze foreign subjects of investigative value – including those that are pertinent to this case. This illustrates that, while Sam’s failure to formally register is his responsibility, and his responsibility alone, the omission was *not* intended to hide his foreign associations from the US government.

Recently, the government announced it believes that Ukrainian-Russian citizen, Foreigner A, was in the throes of a Russian intelligence agency during the period in which he worked with Sam. This news, if correct, is devastating to me and Sam. Generations of our family have stood against Russian aggression, both professionally and personally. One does not have to look as far back as Sam's paternal step-grandfather's well-documented resistance to Russian blackmail. One could look at my government career, in which I spent years, and received awards for, actively countering Russian intelligence agencies both here and abroad. Or one could look at the reports that I made to proper federal authorities after Sam and I appeared to have been poisoned during a 2016 FBI-authorized trip to Russia – reports that I filed through official government channels and for which there was zero follow-up from authorities.

As a counterintelligence officer, I was aware of, and engaged in, multiple efforts to warn American citizens when a specific foreign threat actor targeted him or her. Thus, I am left wondering what would have happened had our government warned us, per normal and customary national security protocols, about what it believes is Foreigner A's affiliation with Russian intelligence? Certainly, had we known what the government believed, in light of my profession Sam would have ceased his association with Foreigner A and not partnered with him for business in the United States, where FARA applies, or anywhere else in the world. We also may have been able to help the government, in some small way, thwart Russian interference.

As outlined above, Sam admits, owns, and apologizes for his failure to register. I love Sam profoundly, yet if he were not sincerely penitent, I would not write this letter.

In my opinion, Sam should not have to go to prison for being an unwitting pawn in a national tragedy that even our government, with all its resources, did not stop – and which in all likelihood it covertly observed for some time.

Sam will accept with dignity any punishment the court imposes on him. If sentenced to prison, it will be difficult, but we will remain an intact family; Sam is resilient, his son from a previous marriage is a young adult now, and I am self-supporting. Ultimately, in the words of the late W.E.B. Dubois, Sam will "live and progress to a greater, broader, and fuller life." However, Sam faces a long, hard, journey to rebuild himself, his livelihood, and any notion of a fuller life. Prison would only retard this arduous process and do nothing to help society. Therefore, I hope this letter helps persuade the court to apply an alternative punishment.

Thank you, Your Honor, for considering my input as you weigh pertinent facts and circumstances to decide Sam's sentence. I appreciate your deliberation.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Laura Patten".

Laura Patten

**The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington DC 20001**

**Dr Ahmed Al-Nagar**  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Date: 13/10/18

Your Honor,

The purpose of this letter is to provide recommendation for W. Samuel Patten (Sam) in the hope to give you a different view on him.

I am a dual citizen, British and Iraqi. I am also a registered Pharmacist in the UK and hold a PhD. I met Sam in the Green Zone in Baghdad, Iraq April 2004. At that time Sam was working at the International Republican Institute and he was presenting his work in Iraq and he was helping my country. I was fascinated by his presentation and his ethos. After that presentation, I approached Sam for his card and later was offered to work within his team. Sam managed me directly for 6 months and continued to be in touch with him via emails and social media.

In my short time working with Sam directly, we were under constant threat in Iraq. Our lives were at risk on a daily basis, car bombs, suicide vests and snipers. You get to know people much better and their true colours show in a war environment. Sam was a true patriot and a believer in democracy. He helped my country come from ruins and genuinely wanted to help my country become a better place. He helped all the locals and developed us to speak our mind and analyse the truth. Sam was nothing less than a hero to me and the team. Sam helped educate the locals on how to get their rights and how to the local politicians govern fairly. Sam risked his life every day to turn Iraq into a true democracy and he did it with pride. There were many organisations in Iraq at the time but Sam did more what he was getting paid for and this is why I chose to continue to work with him and risk my life every day.

After I left Iraq, we kept in touch and Sam helped me get my first job in London, he wrote my reference for my first job. He continued to support me even though I was not working with him and he continued to mentor me. Sam is a true hero and it has been an honour to know him and work with him. Thanks to him and many others, I am who I am today.

Kind Regards,



Dr Ahmed Al-Nagar *MPharm MRPharmS IPRESC PhD*



## Caspian Balestra Group

December 01, 2018

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington DC, 20001

**RE: Mr. W. Samuel Patten**

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson,

My name is M. Marty Youssefiani, President and CEO, Caspian Balestra Group, Inc. an international business communications firm, focusing on renewable energy, based in Potomac, MD.

An American of Iranian ethnicity, I have known Mr. Sam Patten for the better part of 15 years, a relationship which first began as professional colleagues, but which eventually extended to include our families.

Sam has been an unwavering friend and colleague through his restless support, always on a *bro-bono* basis, for the promotion of liberal and democratic values for the Iranian people. Sam was there when the prospects of such principals in Iran were a budding dream -- out of grasp for the 80 million people in Iran. Today, however, the world watches in awe the courage Iranian woman, men, young and old demonstrate through their daily expressions and selfless demands for such liberty.

To those of us who've been dreaming for the day when Iranians too might find themselves free to pursue their inalienable rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, that day might be approaching. And when it finally does arrive, we shall know that if it wasn't for the untiring support of friends like Sam Patten, freedom might have arrived even later for 80 million people.

Page Two,  
The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
December 01, 2018

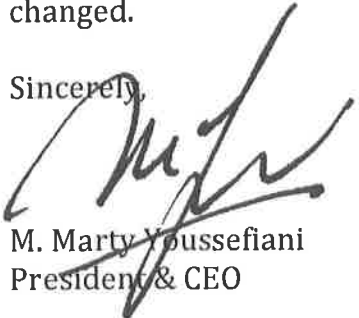
On a personal level, Sam and his wife Laura are family to my wife, Roya, and son, Darius-Raymond. An observant and particularly intuitive young man that Darius is, he picked, among all our friends, Sam to seek advice when it was time for him to choose a career path and his college education. It was largely because of Sam's advice that Darius is today a thriving junior at Villanova University, pursuing his own dreams.

When news reports of Sam's current predicament broke, Darius was particularly impacted, calling his mother and me immediately to tell us: "no matter the facts, I know in my heart, uncle Sam is a good, decent and honorable man, and I hope he will be known for who he really is. I will be praying for him!"

In recent months, we have seen a different side of Sam: contemplative and of course nervous and very worried. Financially exhausted and emotionally drained, he is most worried about others: his wife, his son, parents and those he feels he has let down through what he admits as his personal lapse in judgment. He has made real changes to his life, and has done his best to contritely prepare to face the consequences of his actions.

Having full faith in our judiciary system, our family is fully confident in the spirit of fairness that the law treats each and every citizen. We also have faith in knowing that Man will be judged by the totality of the life he has lived. In that respect, as Darius said: "[We] know in [our] heart Uncle Sam is a good, decent and honorable man." And so, it is our hope that he will be afforded the maximum lenience allowed for under the statutes, giving him a chance to rebuild a life that has forever been changed.

Sincerely,



M. Marty Youssefiani  
President & CEO

## Colonel Lee Busby

US Marines (retired)

November 26, 2018

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

Your Honor,

I am writing you in connection with the upcoming sentencing of Sam Patten, related to a "failure to register as a foreign agent" violation.

I'm a retired Marine Colonel and recently ran as a write-in candidate in a high-profile US Senate race. I came to know Sam when he showed up as a campaign volunteer for me in the Alabama Special Senate Election of 2017. He worked mostly in helping to write OpEds and in coordinating media requests for interviews. He is a brilliant writer, a walking encyclopedia of political knowledge, and a selfless worker. On the personal side, I found him thoughtful and devoted to his family.

Sam wrote me recently to say that he was being prosecuted in relation to a failure to register as a foreign agent. He led by saying that he was ashamed of the position that he'd put his family and supporters in, and that he'd been negligent in meeting the legal requirements applicable to some of the work that he'd been doing. He related that he planned to plead guilty to the charges and not try to stretch out the ordeal or cloud the issue; he wanted to accept whatever punishment was commensurate with his violations.

I know nothing of the specifics of the charges or the penalties that go along with those violations. I do know that Sam Patten is a good man. A good man who has erred, and now seeks to do the right thing to make up for his mistakes. I think that Sam is a man who has much potential for good and who has experienced a catharsis of self examination as a result of this episode.

I'm sure that I cannot begin to imagine the multitude of personalities and predicaments that you must encounter in the course of your service as a Judge. I trust that in examining this case, you'll be able to see the glimmer of character in Sam, that I refer to above. And that you'll examine the totality of the man, in forming a perspective of his transgressions.

Sincerely,



October 15, 2018

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Honorable Amy Berman Jackson:

My name is Eliza Patten, and I am the older of Sam's two younger sisters. I am a lawyer who has dedicated my career to serving families involved with the child welfare system. Growing up in our family, Sam and I experienced our own set of parental inadequacies and responded by looking out for one another from a place of deep love and interdependence. Sam's creativity and curiosity added depth and excitement to my childhood, while his loyalty and kindness offered shelter. I captured some of this in a poem I wrote about Sam when I was a Stanford undergraduate:

In the children's playroom,  
    on the second floor,  
    my brother built a Fisher-Price kingdom and claimed himself king.  
He fantasized a constitution,  
    as the late-afternoon sun  
    fell slowly into the river that ran behind our house.  
Shall I come in? May I? I asked  
    and was invited in,  
    an ordinary subject of my brother the king.  
Drama and one boy's brilliance was our escape.  
In my regulation Fisher-Price family home,  
    under a jagged shadow  
    cast by my brother's castle made of blocks and the setting sun,  
three kids and a one-car garage,  
    and I was happy.

Beyond Sam's character assets of kindness and loyalty that I benefitted from as his younger sister, I have always stood in awe of Sam's fierce idealism, belief in the fundamental tenets of our Western Democracy, and commitment to engage with our political history from a young age. The earliest memory I have of Sam's political leanings is the 1984 Presidential election. I was 10 and Sam just 13. We attended a small, rural school in Maine. I can still remember the debates Sam would organize with our classmates in the hallways that fall, and the fervor with which he set about creating campaign posters for Walter Mondale.

Whether organizing a campaign event in Maine for Senator Collins or then Presidential candidate George W. Bush, supporting open elections in Kyrgystan for Freedom House, or in Bangkok for The Foundation for Asian Democracy and Freedom, or registering women voters in the run up to Iraq's first free election, it has always been ground level contact with the individuals whose vote drives the democratic process that energizes and inspires Sam. It allows him to use his creativity, passion, and idealism to further one of his core values—civic engagement.

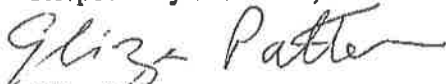
With no ready role models to draw upon for how to raise a son, Sam relied from the beginning on his character assets of kindness, curiosity, and loyalty to forge a parenting path when his son Max was born. When I visited Sam in Almaty in the fall of 1998, he was busily focused on "nesting"—relocating to an apartment with more brightly lit elevators, shopping for cheerful furniture, preparing for the imminent arrival of his wife Aizhan and infant son Max. Today, Sam is blessed with a close and loving relationship with his intelligent and thoughtful son. A college freshman, Max is actively contributing his voice to current debates on [REDACTED] campus as a writer for the student newspaper, following in his father's footsteps by engaging in active, participatory discourse on subjects such as sensible gun control legislation and the importance of high voter turnout.

It is of course a truth that the character strengths of idealism and loyalty also carry the challenge that they can make you blind to what is in front of you. Likewise, growing up as we did, with self-absorbed parents and a need to figure things out for ourselves, can make it more difficult to recognize when it is time to ask for help. It is clear that some measure of clouded judgment and poor decision-making was at play in leading to Sam's present circumstances.

The impact this case has had on Sam cannot be understated. It has undermined others' faith in Sam's expertise—expertise he spent his life accumulating—rendering uncertain his chances of future employment. And more searing to me, it has undermined his faith in himself, leading Sam to question what he has made of his life and how he will find his way moving forward.

On the flip side, these present circumstances, and the severity of the consequences he is facing, have led Sam to come to terms with his use of alcohol, to address his underlying depression, and to seek help from a place of true powerlessness and humility. I am proud to witness him reject temptations to view himself as a victim, instead claiming responsibility in a manner befitting someone of his integrity and decency. I pray from the very bottom of my heart that this Court exercise its discretion to recognize the contributions Sam has made as a public servant, a father, a husband, a brother, and a son, and to be lenient in sentencing. From the eyes of this little sister looking up to her big brother, there is no one more deserving of an act of grace in this moment.

Respectfully submitted,

  
Eliza Patten



November 6, 2018

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

Your Honor,

My name is Jennifer Wickenden. I was born and raised in Camden, Maine. I graduated Mount Holyoke College in 1988, worked as a Paralegal for five years at Simpson Thacher & Bartlett in NY and London, studied for a semester at Columbia Teachers College, from which I took a semester's leave of absence in order to accompany my husband on a six month assignment in London, returning together 25 years later to raise our third son, now eight years old, in Maine. I am currently self-employed running a property rental business in Maine.

I write this letter to the court to give my personal support, and account of, my firsthand knowledge of Sam Patten. I worked as a babysitter for more than five years for Sam and his siblings, arriving at his house after school, on week-end evenings, and as a live-in babysitter for two to four weeks at a time in Maine and Europe over two different summers and one winter holiday.

I have intimate and close knowledge of Sam during his early formative years, from about age six onwards, and feel I can provide relevant insight as to his character and person, as it was forming, leading to the adult who he is today.

As soon as I saw the news break, I reached out to Sam in order to lend my support. I am glad that I am able to do so here.

I feel compelled to write because I have such positive memories of my time with Sam and his family. Sam, in particular, was so striking because he was, recognizably as a child, exceptionally bright. When I think of him, I see him on the back stairwell, off the kitchen, sitting on the stairs, book on his lap, head down, voraciously reading.

Sam was also exceptionally imaginative, and he and his siblings frequently played 'make believe', with Sam as the leader. I cannot recall the content but there seemed no end to their ability to entertain themselves, and they were a close and happy crew, whom I took delight in supervising as I puttered about in the kitchen preparing a meal or tidying- up.

Sam, from a young age, showed interest in foreign cultures and customs. I remember one instance, while traveling in France together, after a long walk around the the left bank in Paris, we all sensed that it was time to return back to the hotel. Sam, wanting to practice his French, approached a man on the street who was passing by. He duly asked directions, in French! I relate this incident as it shows how Sam from a young age demonstrated an intellectual curiosity in engaging with people and places that were different from his own.

Sam was, in sum, a well-behaved, delightful young boy. As he grew older and more independent, my time in his family home became more focused on looking after the younger siblings. But he remained, by turns, quiet and academic, and funny and entertaining. I genuinely enjoyed my time with Sam and his siblings, they were fun kids to be around who had highly intellectual parents and a good home. His parents raised him in a normal, down-to-earth manner, and he attended local public schools like the rest of the kids in town.

I was updated over the years as to his whereabouts, and learned, following his college graduation that he moved to Kazakhstan. This came as no surprise to me that he would further his interest in international travel.

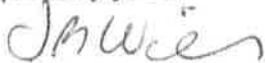
I reconnected with Sam and his family many years later on Facebook. I can honestly say that the connection with Sam on Facebook has reinforced my earlier interactions. His Facebook presence was at times academic, posting occasionally on politics and current events. He presented himself as conservative but centrist, with a wide following of friends, to a large extent friends in the print media who are employed by major magazine and newspaper outlets. He also very much showed his human side with loving photos of his wife, and his son, and his dog, Pepper. He took one trip, which I only witnessed via Facebook, to a monastery in the San Juan Islands in the Pacific Northwest. This was a special trip just with his son in order for his son to film a mini documentary about finding quiet amidst the noise all around us. His son is now pursuing film studies in college.

His dry sense of humor also exhibited itself with the occasional self-effacing, goofily endearing photos of himself such as wearing swimming goggles in a hot tub, wishing everyone a Happy Thanksgiving. He was really a friendly person to have around, and I miss his presence in that venue.

I am sorry that Sam's life work in helping to genuinely spread democracy in third world countries has intersected him with the current polarizing political situation in Washington. He has had to remain quiet and not defend himself from the many inaccurate stories circulating in print or on television news. It saddens me greatly to learn that he has lost his savings, his career, and has endured social isolation, and more worryingly, death threats. He has already paid a heavy price, and I hope that he will find a way forward out of this. I don't want to see the good, happy Sam I know, completely broken.

I beg the court to have mercy and judge leniently.

Respectfully yours,



Jennifer Wickenden

March 8, 2019

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse 333 Constitution  
Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

To Whom It May Concern:

My name is Corinne Graff and I currently work in Washington, D.C., as a foreign policy analyst. I have spent the past decade and a half working inside and outside of government as a national security expert, with expertise on U.S. foreign and global development policy toward crisis and conflict-affected states across the developing world. My spouse and I have three young children, and we are active members of our school communities.

I have known Laura Ballman Patten for 26 years, and I consider her one of my closest childhood friends. We met while doing a summer internship together in Newsweek's Paris Bureau, and since then have maintained a close friendship, which has solidified over the years as we have traveled together, lived in Washington together, and shared major life milestones together. Laura was a maid of honor in my wedding, and I was one in hers, and my children refer to her as "auntie Laura." I have known Sam Patten and his son from a previous marriage since before Sam's marriage to Laura in 2013. Since then and over the years, my spouse and I have socialized with both Laura and Sam as much as our busy family and work schedules have allowed, which has been on average at least several times a year.

I have known Sam to be a supportive and loving husband to Laura, and a loving and very engaged father to his son. When my spouse and I spend time with Laura and Sam, Sam frequently talks about his son, expressing clear interest and concern about everything from his son's school performance, to his hobbies and interests. It is clear from what I have seen of Sam's interactions with his son that there is little, if anything, he wouldn't do to support and offer the best that he can to his son, and equally clear that his son is thriving thanks to the loving support that he continues to receive from his dad. Likewise, it is clear that Sam is a gentle, kind, patient, and supportive husband to Laura, who has a high-pressure national security career. He is always affectionate and respectful toward Laura, and this is visible in his every gaze and glance at his wife, whom he clearly not only loves but admires. In addition, despite our political differences, Sam has always been not only civil but very respectful of my political views, and we have frequently engaged in candid and informative policy debates on a range of foreign policy issues over the years. In short, I know Sam

to be a devoted and loving father and spouse, a good friend to our family, and a kind and gentle person, an image that I have frequently found to be at odds with the reporting I have seen in the press in recent months.

Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Corinne Graff', is written over a solid horizontal line.

Corinne Graff

12/7/2018

Robert M. & Elena V. Ames

[REDACTED]

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Judge Jackson,

Lena and I would like to briefly share with you the Sam Patten we know. We have known Sam for over 20 years, since the early years of our careers living and working in Almaty, Kazakhstan. He was part of our close-knit group of expatriates and local citizens that shared life's experiences together, from professional activities and local business affairs, to holidays, birthdays and even weddings.

Currently I'm VP finance for Simmons Foods and Lena leads privacy for Medtronic. Despite our hectic schedules running children [REDACTED] (16) and [REDACTED] (7) to piano lessons and friends houses, we remain active in the community. Lena created a 3,000 member strong fellowship group of Russian speakers and leads a small team that helps Minnesota-based Russian-speaking women in crisis find stability, and I volunteer with the local Yale alumni chapter.

In recent years we've been fortunate to see Sam, his wife Laura and son Max during their regular trips back to Laura's hometown and our current city of residence, St. Paul, Minnesota. We share discussions about mutual friends and current business pursuits, and more recently have shared conversations related to Sam and Laura's struggles to adopt a child.

We're always happy to host Sam and his family. We care a great deal about Sam, and he cares a lot about his family and friends. He's the kind of friend that's truly always available to share his time and lend a friend a helping hand. As an example, when my family and I were travelling through Moscow in the mid 2000s to visit my wife's relatives Sam was the first to offer a bedroom in his cozy apartment, splitting our two families between their two rooms. That's the Sam Patten that we know so well. Whether it's sharing his apartment, his advice and counsel or just fellowship, Sam has been a good friend over the years. I appreciate that kindness he has shown our family.

I would be pleased and consider it an honor to speak personally to you about Sam's character or do anything you would ask of me that might help assist Sam in any way.

Sincerely,

A stylized, handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'R. Ames'.

Robert M. & Elena V. Ames

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Elena Ames' in a cursive script.

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Judge Jackson,

I am Sam Patten's stepfather. I have been with the family since 1987 when Sam was approximately 16. I had an opportunity recently to spend a week with Sam when his mother had a ruptured aneurysm and Sam came to Maine while she was in the ICU. This gave me a prolonged chance to be with Sam. I have never seen Sam so comfortable in his own skin. I thought that, in a strange way, this whole process involving the investigation and charges could turn out to be the best terrible thing to happen to Sam. I asked Sam if I could submit a letter to the Court with my thoughts of how he has evolved over the last year.

Sam built his entire professional life by himself. He did not use family connections for help, or even guidance in building his professional life. He felt the need to figure his future out for himself. He has essentially seen that professional life destroyed in the process of this investigation. He has no real idea of what his professional life will look like a year or two from now. Yet, he is at peace with himself. I believe that he has used this time to truly look at how he got into this situation.

I would think that, at times, he must have felt like he was a guy in the wrong place at the wrong time and that a conflagration broke out in the middle of his life. But what has impressed me tremendously is how he has sought to understand how his own choices and decisions put him in that wrong place. He could not control the wrong time, but I believe that he knows that he put himself in the wrong place and owns that responsibility.

This self-assessment and self-awareness was critical for Sam to arrive at an understanding that he needed to make some big changes in his life, specifically in connection with drinking. When one arrives at that understanding on one's own, the decisions made are more solid. I know this from my own experience when Sam's mother began attending AA thirteen years ago. I had to confront whether to try to stir the pot myself with ultimatums or whether to let her arrive at her truth. She did it on her own, picked up one white chip and didn't look back. I believe that Sam has reached that same moment.

Over the last few years, I thought that Sam's mother would be one of the last people that Sam would tell if he began to attend AA. I thought he would be afraid of failure and he would not want to tell her that he was going to try it unless he was already comfortable that he would follow through with it. Earlier this fall, Sam told his mother that he was attending AA meetings, that he enjoyed the program and found it very meaningful. This was a huge indicator to me that Sam had really bought into the process of living a sober life and did not fear that he was going to change his mind.

Our granddaughter wrote me a letter last Christmas "to be opened on a bad day". In that letter, she told me that "we are your family and we know who you really are." Sam's mother has always felt this way about her son. I know that she would always tell you that she loves her son unconditionally and that he is the most wonderful person on the face of the Earth. I also know that she is profoundly happy and relieved that Sam has discovered the AA program.

I know that you have a difficult decision whenever you sentence an individual and that you need to sort out the Court's different responsibilities in the sentencing process. I also know that one of the most important factors to consider in that decision is the potential for a defendant repeating the behavior or being otherwise involved in the criminal process in the future.

I am now retired, but in my career as an attorney I represented many criminal defendants and in the second half of my career I worked at the Maine Attorney General's Office and advised various professional licensing boards in connection with professional disciplinary matters. I had many opportunities to observe clients of mine before a court, or professionals in front of licensing boards that I represented as they explained that they had seen the error of their ways. For some, it was just talking the talk. For others, it was a very personal and genuine moment.

I can tell you from the bottom of my heart, and with absolutely no equivocation, that Sam has used the excruciating process that has confronted him for the last year to assess the direction of his life and "who he really is". I believe with complete confidence that he will never darken the door of a criminal courthouse again. I think that in some ways this has been the best worst experience of his life.

Sincerely,



Robert G. Perkins



December 18, 2018



The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge for the District of Columbia  
United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Ave, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20001

Re: Sentencing of Sam Patton

Dear Judge Jackson:

I am writing to offer you a little more information about Sam than you might otherwise have, in the hope that you will consider it when you sentence him.

I am a member of the D.C. Bar, retired from my career as a corporate attorney but still active pro bono as General Counsel for the National Wildlife Refuge Association, headquartered in D.C. When we retired in 2010, my wife and I moved from the D.C. area to Lewes, Delaware, where I am in my fifth year on the City Council. In case my name rings a bell, I might mention

that from 1984 to 1989 I was an A.U.S.A. in D.C., when you and your husband were more senior and already distinguished in the office.

I have known Sam's father, Bill Patten, since we were in eighth grade together. By the time we graduated we had become close friends and spent most of the following summer driving around the country. Bill and I have stayed in close touch ever since. So in a sense I have known Sam all his life.

I didn't see much of him, though, until his freshman year at Georgetown University when of course he moved to D.C. and his father asked me to counsel him. One remarkable initiative of his there was, after learning of the frequency of "date rape," to persuade Student Affairs to fund a 24-hour hotline for victims of that and other forms of sexual violence.

Since Sam graduated I have stayed in touch with him mostly through his

father but from time to time in person. When my mother died 12 years ago Sam wrote me a very kind note of condolence. As I have followed his life, I have admired him for forging his own career and trying among other things to promote democracy in some tough places.

Earlier this year, after Sam came under investigation, his father turned to me for advice and I offered to help in any way I could. Stuart Sears graciously accepted me as a lesser member of Sam's team, so again I worked closely with Sam.

You will have heard better discussions of the law and facts than I can frame, and you are already aware of the financial and emotional devastation he and his family have incurred. I would like to offer only my own perspective on Sam's character, based primarily on my experiences with him in a couple of

stressful times.

There is a consistent strain of idealism in Sam that includes setting high standards and holding himself to account when he fails to meet them. Over a long trajectory of time Sam has taken personal responsibility for his career, his family, and his choices, good and bad. I believe Sam has much to offer our country yet, and if you too feel that way I hope that in sentencing him you may be inclined to take his forthright character into account.

Thank you for considering this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Rob Morgan



November 29, 2018

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

Your Honor,

I have known Sam Patten a long time. I knew his grandmother, know his mother and father, and have known him, off and on, his whole life.

There are two words that spring to mind when I think of Sam: wit and integrity.

One thing that drew us specially together is our love for politics...and yes, we still do.

After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1980(with a degree in Chinese language), I went to work in New York for one year with Mobil Oil. The next year I returned home to Massachusetts and ran for public office, winning election to the Massachusetts Legislature where I was reelected 4 times...a Republican in a Democratic district. Though we now live in Vermont, I remain active in politics to this day.

In fact, I ran against Bernie Sanders in 2012 and Sam helped me in that campaign. This was the first time I had worked on the same project with Sam and I saw firsthand his talent for writing and his integrity. Campaigns for higher office are filled with ever changing circumstances, crises, incoming fire. Rarely is there calm. In all those challenges, in those myriads of decisions, Sam always chose the honorable path. I was not surprised as I knew him well. But I saw him up close, personally.

What went wrong here, I do not know. All I can say is that none of us are perfect. Each of us has made a mistake. Sadly, Sam seems to have made his on the periphery of a national crisis....and is now caught in the crossfire.





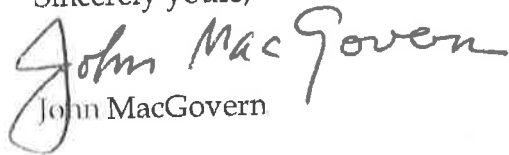
He has publicly (on Facebook) written to many of us saying that he did wrong and he is sorry for it. For someone like Sam this causes him great pain and suffering; for many others who know no shame, it would not. On top of this there is the extraordinary public humiliation which surely causes suffering for someone like him who cares so deeply about values of honor and character.

In addition to this public humiliation, Sam has suffered financially having liquidated his retirement to pay for his legal defense. Quite possibly his ability to land future business contracts has also been severely curtailed.

I hope that Your Honor will take all this into consideration when the time comes to determine his sentence.

Many thanks for taking the time to read this letter.

Sincerely yours,

  
John MacGovern



Mervin H. Wampold, Jr



March 12, 2019

The Honorable Judge Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge for the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20002

Dear Judge Jackson:

My name is Merv Wampold and I am writing this letter to attest to my friendship with Sam Patten. I only met Sam last August when he began attending meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous. I have had the pleasure not only to get to know Sam, but to also act as his sponsor in AA. As you are surely aware, it takes a lot of courage to join AA and to trust the people in the rooms with your experiences in life and with alcohol. The anonymity of AA allows all of us to speak openly, emotionally, and to trust that our shares will remain **confidential**.

I didn't know Sam prior to AA, but I have enjoyed getting to know him, to hear him share his story about his legal troubles as well as many other of his life challenges. Getting to know Sam, as his sponsor and as a new friend has been a joy for me. Most people think of AA as simply a path to address our problems with alcohol. Though that is the first and most important aspect, there is much more to be gained from attending meetings and participating the fellowship. We learn to own our past, improve upon our character, do the next right thing, find our higher power, make amends for our failings, and to live life on life's terms.

I am proud to say that I have been sober for over 11 years and have worked with many people in recovery with great joy seeing men and women get their lives back on track despite the troubles and wreckages of their past. Living one day at a time, admitting our shortcomings and mistakes, taking ownership, depending upon a higher power and aspiring to being a better human being.

I can personally attest that Sam has taken all of these things to heart and has been a committed and dedicated member of AA, working the 12 steps, fully participating in meetings and service work. Sam and I attend the same home group, plus several other meetings together on a nearly daily basis. We get together every Saturday, when our schedules allow, to work the AA program and to improve ourselves one day at a time.

Sam has shared his troubles openly with me and I sincerely believe he has not only owned the mistakes he has made, but more importantly is ready to be the best person he can be. It has truly been a pleasure working with someone so open and prepared for the new adventures that lie ahead in his new life.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Merv Wampold, Jr.", with a stylized, cursive script.

Merv Wampold, Jr





For Love of Children

TEACH • EMPOWER • TRANSFORM

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The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Ave, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

To the Honorable Amy Berman Jackson,

My name is Joshua A. Washington and I am a Program Coordinator for the Neighborhood Tutoring Program at For Love of Children, a non-profit in the District of Columbia. To provide some background, The Neighborhood tutoring program is a one-on-one tutoring program that teaches students foundational reading and math skills. With our 100% volunteer tutor base we help students in grades 1<sup>st</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> achieve grade level competency in these specific subjects. Students are guided through a structured curriculum at the pace that is appropriate for their individual learning, ensuring that while they build fundamental skills they also gain confidence in their ability to succeed. That is what Sam Patten has contributed to our organization on for our language program on Tuesday for the past 5 months.

Sam has consistently shown up to tutoring and worked with the same student since October, having only missed 2 programs as a result of his student calling out. He is dedicated and shows great concern for his student and always willing to step in to be a substitute for other students when needed. It has been an incredible pleasure working with Sam these past few months and I look forward to finishing out this year with him.

Joshua A. Washington

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'J. A. Wash', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

[REDACTED]  
November 12, 2018

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge for the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue NW  
Washington DC 20001

Dear Judge Berman Jackson:

My name is Lauren Solnik and I am a happily retired federal employee, a former lay-leader in progressive Judaism and currently a grandmother of five. I offer this letter in support of Sam Patten, who has been my next door neighbor and stalwart friend for over a decade.

Sam and I share almost nothing in common – we are of different generations, we do not worship in the same manner, we come from vastly dissimilar backgrounds and we hold different world views. Yet over the past decade we have forged a deep and abiding friendship grounded in kindness and trust -- in an era when division and partisanship had already begun to break apart many friendships with far stronger ties.

Sam was a bachelor when he purchased the house next to mine on Capitol Hill. He settled in easily and entertained often between his frequent travels. His home became a salon of sorts in which all views were given fair airing, including mine. I came to know all of his immediate family members and a few of his friends, and I observed with detached amusement some of his on again/off again relationships with women. When Laura Ballman came into his life, it was clear that Sam Patten had found the love of his life. As a licensed marriage officiant, I was honored to conduct their secular wedding six years ago in Maine.

Since then, Sam's nurturing side has blossomed as he and his wife embraced the blending of their families. Sam's son Max became the central presence of their new lives, literally doubling in height and flourishing in school under their guidance. The addition to the family of Laura's niece, Georgia, brought them great delight, even as their own efforts to bear or adopt a child were unsuccessful when three separate birth mothers experienced changes of heart. I know that Sam agonizes over the effect his actions have on his son, now a college freshman. When I asked him what lesson Max should take from this, Sam replied, "When you mess up, own up." This is one of the valuable messages he also brings with him in his local volunteer work with at-risk youth because he firmly believes that moral compasses, including his own, can and must be recalibrated when they go off track.

Sam has taken full responsibility for the path he followed and is keenly aware of its consequences. As you consider what the next chapter of his life may hold for him, please know that he has the motivation and ability to achieve full and productive redemption. I believe his keen intellect and many talents can be focused on the greater good of society because I have benefitted from the countless random acts of kindness he has quietly and selflessly performed for me over the past ten years as my neighbor and my friend.

Please contact me if I can provide additional insight.

Sincerely



Lauren Solnik  
[REDACTED]



The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson,  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia,  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington DC, 20001

Your Honor,

My name is Irakli Alasania. I am Georgian politician, having served as Minister of Defense of Georgia in 2012-2014 and as Georgian Ambassador to the United Nation during Russian invasion of 2008. I currently work as a Senior Partner at DC based corporate consulting firm SP Consulting. Before joining the Cabinet in 2012, as a Chairman of liberal political party, the Free Democrats, together with other political organizations established the Georgian Dream Coalition and swept the 2012 Parliamentary elections in Georgia.

I had come to know Sam Patten as a political consultant during election campaigns in 2011-12. Our cooperation lasted couple of years. During these years, Sam has proven to be hardworking and dedicated professional.

Sam was very helpful to me in developing political strategies and social policies promoting inclusiveness, rule of law, protection of human rights and democratic transformation. I have been championing policies that were against Russian occupation of Georgia, and supported Georgia's Euro-Atlantic integration. Sam personally accompanied me on my trips and meetings with Georgian IDPs and refugees ethnically cleansed by Russian Forces from their communities. Sam demonstrated sincere empathy to Georgina people in dealing with political and humanitarian consequences of Russian occupation of Georgia.

Sam's work habits were always ethical and very transparent. Our cooperation went through some extremely demanding times of election campaigns; I can't recall any instance when Sam failed to be solid in his actions and sound in his council to me.

Many singlehandedly disregarded Sam's previous record and tried to demonize Sam's whole career, in the field of work in which Sam has been involved for some time. Some baseless statements find bigger audiences thus making authors tempting to be scandalous rather than truthful. My goal is to give accurate description of the experience me and my political party Free Democrats had with Sam Patten both on professional and personal level. I think he deserves to be treated fairly by those who he touched while working in Georgia.

Amb. Irakli Alasania  
Senior Partner.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Irakli Alasania", written over a black rectangular redaction box.

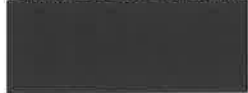
[www.speconsulting.com](http://www.speconsulting.com)

1729 King Street, Suite 100 Alexandria, VA22314

November 28, 2018

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

Laura Keyes Ellsworth



Dear Justice Jackson:

I am writing on behalf of Sam Patten. Sam and his wife Laura have both been close friends of mine for nearly 30 years. I believe Sam to be of strong character, with a genuine interest in making his community and the world as a whole a better place.

I met Sam in 1989 at Georgetown University where we both were part of an attempt to start a liberal student newspaper on campus. When we first got to know each other, I successfully lobbied to have Sam kicked off the newspaper because he identified as a Republican, so I considered him "subversive" to our purposes (there was already a conservative campus paper). Sam, however, took a more academic view of the exercise, believing he was an appropriate fit because his ideas were classically liberal. In the end, he was removed as an editor.

Despite this very inauspicious start, Sam and I developed a true friendship based on shared ideals and interests, even though our political views continued to diverge. After graduation, Sam and I both left the United States to work in countries of the former Soviet Union. I, as a journalist, and Sam with various NGOs. I know Sam was deeply enthusiastic about seeing the newly freed countries of the former Soviet bloc develop into flourishing democracies. While it is now my understanding his later business in the region meant he crossed paths with some unsavory characters, I don't have a shadow of a doubt that his work with politicians in that part of the world was still based on a genuine belief in free democracy.

My admiration of Sam is such that nearly eight years ago, I insisted my longtime friend Laura Ballman, who had been my roommate in Ukraine in the early 1990s and colleague in both Ukraine and Atlanta, Georgia, meet with him. Less than a year after the introduction, they were engaged to be married. I am happy their union has been strong and steadfast, despite the severe strains put on their relationship due to recent events.

As a journalist, I worked with several international news organizations including Bloomberg Television and CNN as a Senior Producer. I am currently based in Prague, Czech Republic, where I run my own corporate communications business. Watching the coverage of Sam's plea in the international press, including from some outlets for whom I used to work, has been incredibly frustrating, as I feel he has been grossly mischaracterized, and a lot of his activities misunderstood. It was part of what compelled me to write this letter on his behalf.

One of the odder things I noticed in the press coverage was an insinuation that because Sam had worked for Cambridge Analytica, he may have been a mastermind in using social media to manipulate elections. In fact, after his plea, Sam was trolled and ridiculed on social media. He had so little understanding of how Facebook worked that I actually had to explain to him via private message how to delete nasty posts from his own page.

My main purpose of this letter is to ask you to show leniency towards Sam. While I can't pretend to know his motivations for the mistakes he has made, I have known him and Laura long enough to know he is truly sorry for his actions, has taken full and total responsibility without excuses for his wrongdoing and has already suffered a great deal. He will no longer be able to work in his previous fields of employment, I know the financial burden of legal costs has been enormous, coupled with the fact his son has just started college. If not for Laura's employment, they would have surely lost their house.

Sam has also suffered great isolation in result of the public plea he made. Many who have known Sam and Laura for years have turned their backs on them, his inability to work gives him fewer outlets, and due to the aforementioned trolling on social media, he has had to close those accounts, leaving him little contact with people beyond his family. Despite this, Sam and Laura have both stayed amazingly positive, and kept their relationship intact. Both have mentioned they look for the silver linings to things. In that vein, they have separately noted that the events surrounding these charges led Sam to stop drinking, get fitter and look for things for which he is grateful. I think this speaks to a strength of character that is both rare and admirable. There is no near-term end to the stress Sam and Laura will both have to endure related to Sam's crimes, so I believe even with leniency there is still a price they will be paying.

Thank you for taking the time to consider my opinion and reference.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Laura Keyes Ellsworth', with a stylized, flowing script.

Laura Keyes Ellsworth

21 December 2018

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
for the District of Columbia  
E. Barret Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Judge Jackson:

It is with a hint of sadness, but without an ounce of hesitation, that I write this letter in support of my friend, William Samuel Patten Jr. Without hesitation, because over half a lifetime of knowing Sam, I have always seen him act in all facets of his life with a commendable level of Integrity, compassion, and honor. Sadness because it appears a momentary lapse of reason now threatens his family and livelihood after a career built on spreading democracy and defending US interests at home and abroad.

I shall begin with a little background information about myself. I am about the same age as Sam. I am a native of Washington, DC and attended college at Harvard University. I currently reside with my wife and newborn child in Moscow, Russia, where I work in the field of public relations.

Sam and I met almost exactly 22 years ago, at a party during the holiday season in Almaty, Kazakhstan, a city to which we had both recently relocated. We were two young professionals working in the spheres of public relations and public affairs. We were both only a couple of years out of university, taking on the dual challenges of learning our trade and adjusting to life in a strange and unique foreign land. Sam was working for a major American corporation, while I toiled for a non-profit US business and trade promotion organization.

Less than two years after that chance meeting, we had left those positions to work together to build the first home-grown but Western-style PR and public affairs consulting agency in Central Asia. What struck me most about working with Sam was how much he cared for our clients, mostly US and multinational companies, and how concerned he was with the difficulties they faced in conducting business in the former Soviet Union.

The heightened scrutiny of being a foreign investor in Kazakhstan in the 1990s meant it was absolutely necessary to play by the rules and to operate in strict accordance with the law, despite the fact that the post-Soviet legal and regulatory framework was incomplete, often contradictory, and constantly evolving. Failure to navigate this minefield could result in negative publicity, monetary losses, or even the loss of assets. This was the environment in which the young Sam and I cut our proverbial teeth in the world of business.

At the same time, many businesses operating in the region at the time had to contend with massive corruption. Kickbacks and bribes were par for the course, whether to speed up the bureaucracy, to open up new opportunities, to gain advantage for one's business, or to mitigate the effects of failing to navigate the legal minefield I described above. Sam and I never played that game. In fact, we demonstrably refused to do. Sam advised our clients likewise to stay off that slippery slope. The course we set together then continues to guide me to this day.

In particular, I will never forget one incident in which Sam felt that a client, a major US company, was hell-bent on taking a course of action that would undoubtedly damage their business and their reputation in the country. Sam took the unusual step of blasting out one of his famous lengthy memos, addressed not only to our direct contact people but to the company's chairman, CEO and senior vice presidents back in the US. It was, to say the least, the nuclear option – destined to ruin our relationship with the client and to end our association with them and the stream of revenue they provided. Nevertheless, Sam stood on principle, believing it was more important to express to them what he believed was the right thing to do to save their business.

One of the things that first drew me to Sam was our joint interest in the law. When we met, both of us coincidentally had ambitions of staying in Kazakhstan for one year and then returning to the US to attend Georgetown Law School.

That didn't happen, however, as we both laid down substantial roots in Kazakhstan, getting married and, in Sam's case, starting a family. We both became fixtures in the local business community and contributed to society on many fronts, including charity work. Sam's father-in-law was a journalist aligned with the political opposition, and it's important to note how Sam helped that gentleman flee persecution and seek asylum abroad.

Sam eventually returned to the US but we met again in Russia, to which we both moved in 2001. Sam had joined the International Republican Institute and came to take over their office in Moscow. In my mind, it was a perfect position for him, allowing him to employ his public affairs experience and keen political mind, while also advancing his interest in the development of democracy in countries which had limited or spotty experience with that form of government. It was through Sam that I met some of Russia's most interesting opposition political leaders. He wanted to play a role in making sure everyone had a seat at the table as the country emerged from its post-Soviet haze.

I was disappointed to see Sam leave Moscow a couple of years later, particularly because his next destination was an especially dangerous one! Sam felt he had a role to play in the formation of a new and vibrant democracy in post-war Iraq. Again, he put principle first, putting himself in harm's way to contribute to something positive.

Sam has had an interesting and varied career since those days and it would be wrong to say that I know or remember every detail of it. Messages from Sam could come from countries far and wide as he consulted leaders and parties around the world. I recall visiting him in Tbilisi, Georgia, where he was helping the ruling party (at that point, strongly supported by the United States) as they prepared for parliamentary elections. I recall hearing stories of a return visit to Iraq, where he conducted similar work. First and foremost, I know that Sam's work, both in consulting and for organizations like Freedom House, reflected his commitment to building democracy around the world and making a positive contribution.

On a more personal note, one of my most recent meetings with Sam was when he visited Moscow to attend my second wedding a couple of years ago. Late that night, after the festivities were over, we and a few others decided to visit the American-style diner where we'd spent so many weekend afternoons back in the early 2000s. It was a throwback to different times, and I could almost see Sam's son running up and down the aisles and wreaking havoc. Reflecting on it now, it recalls a few points about Sam, including his commitment to his family (he never left his son at home on weekend afternoons back in the old days) and his commitment to his friends (he and his wife traveled halfway around the world for my wedding).

Perhaps it is his loyalty – to friends, family and, in this case, to his client – that led Sam astray in the matter which is now before you. I am convinced he thought, right or wrong, that he was helping people. I know he sincerely regrets the circumstances and poor decisions that led him to this point. Moreover, I am aware that he has suffered immense consequences for his actions, on a professional and personal level, with those close to him and with the broader public.

Sam must now embark on a very difficult journey to rebuild trust with his family, his friends, his peers, his community, and his country. He has much to contribute on each of these fronts. I plead with you for leniency so that he can get started on that long road as soon as possible.

Sincerely,



John A. Mann II

Cambridge, MA  
November 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018

Dear Judge Jackson,

My name is Caroline McCabe. I have a doctorate in clinical psychology and am employed in the Human Resources function of a major technology company where I have worked for the last 8 years. Late in the summer of 1993, while vacationing in Camden, Maine, an article in the local *Camden Herald* recounting the author's travels through war-torn Croatia and former Yugoslavia captured my attention. I was introduced to Sam Patten, the reporter in question, by a mutual friend. It was clear at the outset that we shared key values and a perspective on the human condition. A deep bond grew between us and I remained in Maine eventually finding my own work at the Institute for Global Ethics.

As the summer turned to fall, we shared many an afternoon chasing stories for the paper and eventually, as Sam moved toward politics, driving the state at all hours of the day putting up campaign signs and attending events. Sam's wit kept us laughing and his love of animals was appreciated both by me and my Golden Retriever. But what moved me most about my time with Sam, were the conversations and debates between us where his passion for improving the lives of those who were oppressed would leave me and others inspired, even when our views on how were divergent. He was simply committed to something larger than himself and that led him to consider an unconventional life path. He was not interested in settling down for a safe conventional career, instead he was clear that a life in the field and of service to democracy was his path.

My father, with whom he also got on well, helped Sam find his way to Kazakhstan which was one of the beginnings of his peripatetic life. From that time until now, I've spoken or emailed with Sam from many different continents following his travels and work with admiration. Sam's voice is a powerful one, and he often shares what others do not want to hear. For this he demonstrates courage. In the corporate world I conduct executive assessments for all senior leaders hired into a Fortune 100 company. We would describe Sam as a talented young leader dissatisfied with the status quo, who is willing to disrupt conventional thought. His perspective is broad, and he considers multiple opinions when forming his plans. His level of intellectual functioning is high and he has deep compassion for people, animals and the environment.

Sam always struck me as destined to have a positive impact on the world. You can imagine my surprise and dismay when this unfortunate lapse in his judgment landed him in the spotlight and has become the story line defining him. He always had a tough inner critic driving his excellence as a writer and I'm certain that inner reviewer is playing loudly now as he considers his future. Sam's written voice and perspective on events is one that all of us can benefit from. He pushes audiences to truly think and to consider more than we already believe we know. Today these qualities are much needed in public service if we are going to move beyond polarities.

In the corporate world, disruptive talents are known to hit bumps in the road, creating challenge which ultimately lead to an unfortunate outcome. However with reflection, insight and a growth mindset these individuals can and do become stronger and better leaders, driving extraordinary results. I'm convinced that this painful chapter in Sam's life is a similar learning event, albeit extremely serious, and that in the future he will reassert his voice from another avenue where his passions for democracy and compassion for people will prevail.

How he should be further punished for his failure to register as a foreign agent is a judicial question, not a personal one. But what I can say is that among the characters with whom he has now been associated, Sam stands out as incongruous when his motivations, values, and approach to his own predicament are considered. I can only hope that these will be factors in your decision.

Thank you for considering my input.

Sincerely,   
Caroline F. McCabe, PsyD



David Satter



October 21, 2018

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Judge Jackson:

I am writing on behalf of Sam Patten, who now faces sentencing in the District Court having pleaded guilty to failing to register as a foreign agent. I have known Sam and his family for many years. I first became acquainted with his step grandfather, Joseph Alsop, in 1967 after I published an article on slum conditions in Chicago in The New Republic. I was a friend of Sam's grandmother, Susan Mary Alsop until her death in 2004 and became acquainted with Sam at Susan Mary's house in the 1990s. In subsequent years, our paths crossed not only personally but professionally. I am a former Moscow correspondent for the Financial Times (London) and now write books about Russia and the Soviet Union as well as commentary on Russia for the editorial page of The Wall Street Journal and for National Review. In 1995, Sam moved to Kazakhstan beginning a career in the former Soviet Union that was to span more than two decades. As a result, I came to know Sam not only as a friend and the son and grandson of friends but also a political actor in his own right who shared many of my concerns about an important but troubled region.

I regret that events have transpired in a manner that now can lead to a sentence for Sam but all people are broader than any specific error or misjudgment and I think it would be a mistake to ignore Sam's many contributions to improving the political and moral climate in Russia, Ukraine, Georgia and Kazakhstan over more than two decades. In 2001-04, Sam worked for the International Republican Institute in Moscow where, consistent with his mandate, he gave political advice to representatives of all of the Russian political parties. That advice was most relevant, however, in the cases of parties with a clear democratic orientation that were prepared to compete fairly for votes rather than rely on ballot stuffing and the use of administrative resources. One of the persons who benefited particularly was our close mutual friend, Boris Nemtsov, the leader of the Union of Right Forces (SPS) and a subsequent leader of the anti-Putin opposition who was murdered on February 27, 2015.

Boris Nemtsov was dedicated to bringing democracy to Russia. He was an early opponent of Russia's war in Chechnya and he fought to expose the Putin regime's corruption. He became a threat to Putin and his entourage and a likely, serious Presidential candidate. But an important factor in his success was the skills that he learned from Sam.

During his years in politics, as consultant, advisor, and aide, Sam did not have the reputation of someone inclined toward wrongdoing. On the contrary, besides his work at IRI, he worked for Maine Senator Susan Collins, and on democracy development for Freedom House and as an aide to Paula Dobriansky, the former Under Secretary of State. In these positions, his concern was to expand freedom and protect human rights in areas where they are frequently threatened.

As someone who has worked for more than four decades in the former Soviet Union, I can also point out that this is not a region for someone whose concern in life is personal luxury. Daily life is hard and frequently dangerous and success requires the ability to understand a complex and alien culture. The mere fact that Sam has been as dedicated as he has to a region with such deep problems attests to his intellectual and moral seriousness.

Whatever the sentence passed by the court, Sam will face the task of refocusing his life and moving forward, using the skills and experience that he has gained over many years. He should not leave politics because in my view, he still has an important contribution to make. I hope that an evaluation of Sam's life and career will argue for leniency and make it possible for him to return to work that is beneficial for him and to the region he knows and loves and also to our country.

Sincerely,



David Satter

Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute  
Adjunct Professor, Johns Hopkins University School of  
Advanced Academic Programs  
Former Moscow correspondent, Financial Times of London

Author, The Less You Know, the Better You Sleep: Russia's Path to Terror and Dictatorship under Yeltsin and Putin; It Was a Long Time Ago and It Never Happened Anyway: Russia and the Communist Past; Darkness at Dawn: the Rise of the Russian Criminal State; and Age of Delirium: the Decline and Fall of the Soviet Union, all published by Yale University Press

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
US District Court Judge for the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Judge Jackson,

I'm writing to you about my good friend, Sam Patten. My name is Richard Spooner, and I worked for many years in the private sector in the former Soviet Union, representing a US company first in Russia and then in Kazakhstan, which is where I met Sam in the mid 1990s, when he was working there for the International Republican Institute.

Sam was committed to what he was doing in Kazakhstan - working with the government and parliament on developing laws to regulate political parties, elections and NGOs, as well as ways to strengthen the rule of law, which as you know were not areas where the newly independent states inherited good practices or traditions from the USSR. We spent many an evening talking about his interesting work in Kazakhstan. Sam took his work seriously because, for as long as I've known him, he has been proud of his country and those things about our system that are worthy of emulation by people in other countries.

Back then Sam and I shared a sense of feeling good about helping the Kazakhs stand up on their own two feet and shed the 'little brother' status foisted on them by Moscow. The company I represented advised the government on attracting foreign investment. Sam's organization advised them on political issues. Of course, we both learned sometime before the '90s were over that, both in Kazakhstan and in Russia, what came to replace the Soviet system was not, unfortunately, about representative government, transparency in business or respect for the rule of law. Neither of those countries has ever had a democratic system, nor do they seem close to having one. The bitter joke that Russians tell is that "Democracy is when the wolves and the sheep get together and vote on what's for dinner." Working in that world - with its rampant, systemic corruption and absence of respect for the individual citizen - had the effect of numbing me to the discrepancy between what I knew about right vs. wrong, on the one hand, and what one needed to do in order to be effective there.

I recognize that Sam, in his recent work as a lobbyist, made some serious mistakes, committing illegal acts. I would not presume to justify them by referencing the places or the people involved; I only want to say that in his previous engagements as a lobbyist, in numerous foreign countries, Sam's assignment was always about helping a local politician or politicians succeed by advising them on how to run their campaigns or perform their duties in a way that better resembled the practices and standards of Western democracies. Sam cares about his country, and has been, I believe, until his recent bad judgments, a good unofficial ambassador. He has taken his conviction hard, as he should, of course, and now he has to answer for the mistakes he's made. But Sam is a good person. I ask you, if you think it would be right, to show him lenience.

With Respect,



Richard Spooner





ST. JOHN'S CHURCH  
LAFAYETTE SQUARE

March 19, 2019

The Honorable Amy Berman Jackson  
United States District Judge  
For the District of Columbia  
E. Barrett Prettyman United States Courthouse  
333 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Judge Jackson,

My name is the Reverend D. Andrew Olivo and I am a priest on staff at St. John's Episcopal Church, Lafayette Square, in Washington, D.C. We are an active community of faith with parishioners from all around the Washington metropolitan area.

I can tell you that Mr. W. Samuel Patten and his wife, Laura, are members in good standing at St. John's Church, which, in the Episcopal Church, means that they are active in corporate [Sunday] worship, and that they work, pray, and give to the parish.

Additionally, I have had several opportunities to meet with Mr. Patten for individual pastoral counseling since his guilty plea in the fall of 2018, and I know that he continues to seek out ways to make amends in his personal life, to be supportive of his family during this difficult time, and to serve the community.

Sincerely yours,



The Rev. D. Andrew Olivo,

Assistant Rector